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Lina Andronoviene (Lithuania/Czech Republic, IBTS)

and others

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Editorial

The papers in this edition of *JEBS* are examples of contributions to the research activities of the International Baptist Theological Seminary, administered by its four research institutes. The institutes sustain a network of contacts, organise research conferences, provide short-term sabbatical scholarships, and supervise and publish research projects.

I am pleased to introduce the work of two colleagues' contributions to research projects of the Institute of Systematic Study of Contextual Theologies (ISSCT). Dr Marlene Enns, a Latin American Mennonite scholar, provides her expertise on an ongoing project to develop a conceptual framework for international, contextual and interdisciplinary tertiary-level theological higher education. Her essay addresses socio-cultural differences of reasoning and cognition. Drawing from the biblical wisdom tradition, she argues for contextually solid and mutually enriching intercultural theological education in the context of interactive learning. In a dialogue with western analytical, eastern holistic and biblical narrative cognitive paradigms, Dr Enns sets grounds for the renewal of theological education.

Dr Vygantas Vareikis, a Lithuanian historian at Klaipeda University, contributes to another long-term project of ISSCT. His paper is the result of research carried out primarily at IBTS during sabbatical study leave in autumn 2003. It addresses issues related to religious, social and psychological factors of Jewish–Lithuanian relations in the context of the partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Russian Imperial 'Pale of Settlement' and the emergence of the Zionist movement. It examines the influence of cultural anti-semitism, both in legislation and in folk mythology, and on the anti-Jewish attitudes and behaviour of different political, ecclesial, intellectual and social groupings in the wake of the almost complete extermination of Lithuanian Jewry during World War II.

The worldwide evangelical community mourns the sudden and premature death of Canadian Baptist Theologian Stanley Grenz. For many European Baptists, he was a friend, a mentor and an inspiring dialogue partner in the pursuit of robust evangelical identity in meeting post-modern epistemological and ethical challenges. *In memoriam* to Grenz's life and thought, *JEBS* offers Greg Warner's reflections on his theological legacy.

The Revd Dr Parush R Parushev
Academic Dean and Director of ISSCT, IBTS

Recovering the Wisdom Tradition for Intercultural Theological Education

Theological education has entered an exciting era; an era in which cultures impinge on one another in the global village; an era in which, according to Ionita, "monocultural contexts hardly exist anymore".[1] As people from different cultural backgrounds learn and teach together in theological education, they have the opportunity to enrich each other in unprecedented ways. However, such enrichment requires a willingness to avoid the subtle neo-colonialist tendencies of globalisation. It also requires more than mere respect of cultural differences within contextualisation and multicultural education frameworks. Mutual enrichment that leads to intercultural theological education requires the willingness to "undertake a re-adjustment . . . in light of the other's alterity".[2] Such re-adjustment may take on many shapes and forms and will not easily lend itself to be planned in advance, since it will emerge as people are willing to learn from each other. However, it is necessary to think through the educational framework within which learning and teaching occur so that it will allow for re-adjustments to take place as people interact.

Brueggemann suggests that "canon is a clue to education, both as substance and as a process".[3] He proposes Nehemiah 18:18 to be a way of entry to the canon and a summary of Israelite authoritative knowledge: the Torah of the priest, word of the prophet, and the counsel of the wise. Each has a different function in Israel, a different epistemology, and a special substance. He points out that while in the tradition of the Torah there is disclosure and in the tradition of the prophets there is disruption, in the tradition of wisdom there is discernment. All three are necessary if a community is to have a healthy development. The Torah tradition gives continuity to the community and avoids the danger of relativising into disappearance, since its emphasis is on "that which is normative, known, and given. . . [and] is essentially uncritical or precritical".[4] The word of the prophet tradition gives discontinuity to the community and avoids fossilisation, since its emphasis is "to challenge the consensus, to practice

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[1] Viorel Ionita, 'One Gospel and Diverse Cultures: Towards an Intercultural Mutuality', *International Review of Mission* 86, no. 340/341 (1997), p. 54.

[2] Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), p. 110.

[3] Walter Brueggemann, *The Creative Word: Canon as a Model for Biblical Education* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), p. 3.

[4] Ibid., p. 40.

criticism on that which, until now, has been beyond criticism".[5] Both deal with fairly 'black/white' issues: 'settled consensus' and 'radical break from the consensus'. However, the counsel of the wise tradition is different. In it there is

> A not-knowing, a waiting to know, a patience about what is yet to be discerned, and a respect for not knowing that must be honored and not crowded. This way does not seek conclusions for immediate resolutions. It works at a different pace because it understands that the secrets cannot be forced.[6]

Without discarding the Torah and prophet traditions—which often have had leading roles in evangelical theological education—it is the wisdom tradition which needs to be recovered if theological education is to be intercultural. An educational framework which is predominantly Torah oriented or mainly operates in the prophet tradition will not be able to handle cultural differences with patient discernment.

Teachers and students from different cultural backgrounds bring with them many differences. This article will concentrate on sociocultural differences of reasoning and approaches to learning: analytic (Western) and holistic (East Asian) cognition.[7] The former tends to be fostered by individualistic and the latter by collectivistic type of societies and practices. When it comes to learning approaches, individualistic societies seem to fit more the prophet, whereas collectivistic societies the Torah educational framework. These differences in reasoning and learning approaches—which will briefly be described in the first two sections—complement each other and can contribute to a tremendous enrichment for theological education if the wisdom tradition, with its educational framework, is recovered. This framework—which will be explored in the third section—allows for a unique interplay between analytic and holistic cognition. The last section of the article will briefly point out some foundational issues which need to be wrestled with if the wisdom tradition is to gain room in intercultural theological education.

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[5] Ibid., p. 41.

[6] Ibid., p. 71.

[7] Traditional categories such as 'Western/non-Western', 'North/South' or 'East/West' are no longer realistic ways of referring to a world that increasingly is being transformed into a global village. Nevertheless, the literature still uses them because of their practicality. In such sense they will also be used in this article. Moreover, when this article refers to differences in reasoning and uses the terms 'Eastern' and 'Western', they only indicate predominant tendencies, but not stereotypical generalisations about ways in which people of these cultures reason. It should also be clarified that holistic and analytic ways of thinking are by no means the only types of reasoning. However, they do represent variations of reasoning that tend to exist in two important cultural blocks of the world population.

Sociocultural Variations of Reasoning: Holistic and Analytic Cognition

Nisbett and colleagues have developed a theoretical model in which they present two different systems of thought: analytic and holistic cognition.[8] Their empirical research—conducted primarily among college students from European/American and East Asian populations—calls into question the long-held assumptions about 'basic' or universal cognitive processes such as categorisation, inductive and deductive inference, as well as the appropriateness of the process-content distinction. They suggest that social organisations with their practices—such as those that reflect individualistic and collectivistic orientations—support and prime cognitive content and process in ways such that they are able to sustain sociocognitive homeostatic systems for millennia. Analytic reasoning can be traced back to influences of ancient Greek and holistic reasoning to ancient Chinese social organisations and practices.[9]

Analytic Reasoning

The ancient Greeks—Ionians and Athenians in particular—developed a sense of personal agency in a way that was unparalleled to that of other ancient civilisations. This location of power in the individual seems to be intimately related to (1) the political organisation—city-states—and (2) the tradition of debate among the Greeks. These two factors led the Greeks to be concerned with ultimate foundations, and rigorous, abstract, logic-based demonstration/explicit justification of a position. They also influenced the invention of deductive mathematics and the theoretical nature of science. They encouraged people to focus their attention preferably on the properties of an individual object, to be concerned with definitions, with devising systems of classification and rules in order to be able to understand, predict, and control the behaviour of objects independently of their particular context. While pursuing truth, it was *logos*; it was the best rational account which would be the final arbiter, since "the Greeks in a sense became slaves to the linear either-or-orientation of their logic".[10] Hence, Greek science was a purely intellectual enterprise with no technological end in view.[11]

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8 Richard E. Nisbett and others, 'Culture and Systems of Thought: Holistic Versus Analytic Cognition', *Psychological Review* 108, no. 2 (2001).

9 Ibid.

10 Robert K. Logan, *The Alphabet Effect: The Impact of the Phonetic Alphabet on the Development of Western Civilization* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), p. 153.

11 Alan Cromer, *Uncommon Sense: The Heretical Nature of Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 71-80; G. E. R. Lloyd, *Demystifying Mentalities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Nisbett and colleagues suggest that social organisation, naïve metaphysics (belief about the nature of the world and causality), tacit epistemology (belief about what should be known and how), and the development of some cognitive processes at the expense of others, feed on each other, and exist in a homeostatic balance. The studies that they conducted among European/American populations with an ancient Greek influence in the United States of America seem to support their proposal.[12] Some examples in the areas of inductive and deductive reasoning will be given in the following paragraphs.

Ji, Peng, and Nisbett found that Americans are "more attentive to the object and its relations to the self",[13] and that they increased their estimated covariation (ability to perceive relationships within a field) when they believed that they had control over the process. Morris and Peng, while studying explanations that American newspapers gave for mass murders (causal attribution), found that they focused more on personal dispositions such as personality traits (e.g., "very bad temper"), attitude (e.g., "personal belief that guns were an important means to redress grievances"), and psychological problems (e.g., "psychological problem with being challenged").[14] Moreover, when grouping objects, Ji and Nisbett found that Americans did so on the basis of a shared category (e.g., notebook and magazine), or a common feature (e.g., sunshine and brightness), and would also justify their choice based on category membership (e.g., "the sun and the sky are both in the heavens").[15]

When making deductions about studied characteristics of target objects, Norenzayan and colleagues found that "when logical structure conflicts with everyday belief, American students are more willing to set aside empirical belief in favor of logic than are Korean students".[16] Further, while conducting studies about resolution of social contradiction among undergraduate students at the University of Michigan, Peng and Nisbett

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1990), pp. 122-34; G. E. R. Lloyd, *Methods and Problems in Greek Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 121-45; Logan, The Alphabet Effect; David James Moser, 'Abstract Thinking and Thought in Ancient Chinese and Early Greek', PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan (1996); Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Physics and Physical Technology. Part I: Physics, vol. 4 (Cambridge: University Press, 1962); Ara Norenzayan, 'Rule-Based and Experience-Based Thinking: The Cognitive Consequences of Intellectual Traditions', PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan (1999).

[12] Nisbett and others, 'Culture and Systems', p. 295.

[13] Li-Jun Ji, Kaiping Peng, and Richard E. Nisbett, 'Culture, Control, and Perception of Relationships in the Environment', *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 78, no. 5 (2000), p. 951.

[14] Michael W. Morris and Kaiping Peng, 'Culture and Cause: American and Chinese Attributions for Social and Physical Events', *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 67, no. 6 (1994).

[15] In Nisbett and others, 'Culture and Systems', p. 300.

[16] Reported in Nisbett and others, 'Culture and Systems', p. 301.

found that American responses were more likely to be noncompromising and to take favour with one or the other side within the conflict situation (e.g., "mothers should respect daughters' independence").[17] These and other similar studies seem to suggest that in folk Western logic—based on Aristotelian logic—rules about contradiction, such as the following, play a central role:

> 1. *The law of identity*: A = A. A thing is identical to itself.
> 2. *The law of noncontradiction*: A = not–A. No statement can be both true and false.
> 3. *The law of the excluded middle*: Any statement is either true or false.[18]

Holistic Reasoning

While ancient Greeks developed a sense of personal agency, the ancient Chinese fostered a sense of collective agency. According to Confucianism, the role fulfilment between emperor and subject, parent and child, older brother and younger brother is of crucial importance. This location of the power in the group also seems to be intimately related to the political organisation. Ancient China did not develop the polis in its democratic forms, and "the practice of public debate was relatively rare".[19] This emphasis on collective agency and harmony led the Chinese to the doctrine of the opposing forces of *Yin and Yang*—which are correlative, interdependent, and depend on mutual cyclical exchanges—and their interest in experience and dialectic instead of formal logic. In fact, the Chinese saw the world as interpenetrating and continuous, and recognised the importance of the whole field when explaining physical events. Further, since the Chinese valued the particular and the concrete, they were sensitive to the multiplicity of things, and seldom preoccupied with the universal validity of laws which regulate this multiplicity of things.[20]

After summarising information about the ancient Chinese civilisation, Nisbett and colleagues present the results of their research which support their hypothesis that content and cognitive processes exist in

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[17] Kaiping Peng and Richard E. Nisbett, 'Culture, Dialectics, and Reasoning About Contradiction', *American Psychologist* 54, no. 9 (1999).

[18] In Nisbett and others, 'Culture and Systems', p. 301.

[19] Hajime Nakamura, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India-China-Tibet-Japan* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1964), p. 189.

[20] Y. Lin, *My Country and My People* (London: William Heinemann, 1936); Lloyd, *Demystifying Mentalities*, pp. 105-34; Lloyd, *Methods and Problems*, pp. 121-44; Geoffrey Lloyd, 'Ancient Greek Concepts of Causation in Comparativist Perspective', in *Causal Cognition: A Multidisciplinary Debate*, ed. Dan Sperber, David Premack, and Ann James Premack (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 536; Donald J. Munro, *The Concept of Man in Early China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1969); Nakamura, Ways of Thinking, pp. 185-225.

a homeostatic relationship with social organisation and practices and can prime each other for millennia. Sample populations with ancient Chinese influence come from East Asia, and include countries such as Hong Kong, Korea, Japan, and China.[21]

Ji, Peng, and Nisbett found that East Asian populations were "more attentive to the field and to the relationship between the object and the field".[22] In fact, Masuda and Nisbett concluded their study by saying: "Japanese may simply see far more of the world than do Americans".[23] When explaining the cause of mass murders, Morris and Peng found that Chinese newspapers focused more on situational factors, such as relationships (e.g.: "did not get along with his advisor"), pressures in Chinese society (e.g., "Lu was a victim of the 'Top Students' Education Policy"), and aspects of American society (e.g., "murder can be traced to the availability of guns").[24] When it comes to grouping objects, Ji and Nisbett found that Chinese students were more likely to group on the basis of some kind of relationship, either functional (e.g., pencil and notebook), or contextual (e.g., sky and sunshine), and would also justify their choice based on relationships (e.g., "the sun is in the sky").[25]

When engaging in deductive reasoning, Norenzayan and colleagues found that Koreans relied more on experiential knowledge when evaluating the logical validity of arguments than Americans. Further, while conducting studies about resolution of social contradiction, Peng and Nisbett found that Chinese students tended to be compromising and to find a 'Middle Way' (e.g., "both the mothers and daughters have failed to understand each other").[26] In fact, the studies conducted suggest that folk Chinese logic is based on Chinese dialecticism which can be described in terms of three principles:

> 1. *The principle of change*: Reality is a process that is not static but rather is dynamic and changeable. A thing need not be identical to itself at all because of the fluid nature of reality.
>
> 2. *The principle of contradiction*: Partly because change is constant, contradiction is constant. Thus old and new, good and

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[21] Nisbett and others, 'Culture and Systems'.

[22] Ji, Peng, and Nisbett, 'Culture, Control', p. 952.

[23] Takahiko Masuda and Richard E. Nisbett, 'Attending Holistically Versus Analytically: Comparing the Context Sensitivity of Japanese and Americans', *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 81, no. 5 (2001), p. 934.

[24] Morris and Peng, 'Culture and Cause'.

[25] In Nisbett and others, 'Culture and Systems', p. 300.

[26] Peng and Nisbett, 'Culture and Systems'.

bad, exist in the same object or event and indeed depend on one another for their existence.

3. *The principle of relationship or holism*: Because of constant change and contradiction, nothing either in human life or in nature is isolated and independent, but instead everything is related. It follows that attempting to isolate elements of some larger whole can only be misleading.[27]

After having outlined the main characteristics of analytic and holistic reasoning—both in their inductive and deductive modes—it already becomes quite evident that most teaching/learning situations encourage the Greek analytic way of reasoning, which often is considered to be the most elaborate way of reasoning. However, Peng and Nisbett make the pointed correction that it is not about which way of reasoning is higher or better, but of making wise decisions:

The logical ways of dealing with contradiction may be optimal for scientific exploration and the search for facts because of their aggressive, linear, and argumentative style. On the other hand, dialectical reasoning may be preferable for negotiating intelligently in complex social interactions. Therefore, ideal thought tendencies might be a combination of both—the synthesis, in effect, of Eastern and Western ways of thinking.[28]

Sociocultural Variations of Learning Approaches: A Socratic-Confucian Framework

Now, how do sociocultural factors influence learning approaches? Tweed and Lehman make a helpful comparative analysis between a culturally Western and a culturally Chinese approach to learning. They suggest that they can be compared within a Socratic-Confucian framework.[29]

A Brief Description of Socratic and Confucian Frameworks for Learning

A Western or Socratic approach can be summarised as follows. First, it has a tendency to question, recognising thereby the limits of one's own and others' knowledge. Second, it has a tendency to evaluate, and to expose the ignorance of others through the questioning method. Third, self-generated knowledge is esteemed over against prescribed or socially negotiated knowledge. Fourth, a tendency to focus on error, since it evokes doubt, and

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[27] In Nisbett and others, 'Culture and Systems', p. 301.
[28] Peng and Nisbett, 'Culture, Dialectics', p. 751.
[29] Roger G. Tweed and Darrin R. Lehman, 'Learning Considered within a Cultural Context: Confucian and Socratic Approaches', *American Psychologist* 57, no. 2 (2002).

doubt is the first step for gaining knowledge. Fifth, a tendency to value knowledge that has a rational justification.

However, a Confucian or Chinese approach has quite different characteristics. First, it is based on effortful learning and closely tied to hard work. Second, the main goal of learning is behavioural reform, based on deep internal transformation and virtuous behaviour. Third, learning is pragmatic and prepares for a civil service career. Fourth, learning has an acquisition-focused approach which includes understanding and personal reform. Fifth, learning occurs in an atmosphere of respect and obedience to authority figures.

Western Misperceptions of the Confucian Framework

After presenting the learning approaches in a Socratic-Confucian framework, Tweed and Lehman[30] point out that studies reveal that Westerners generally have misperceived the Chinese approach as being a surface approach. For instance, a survey conducted by Samuelowicz[31] revealed that 30% of Australian instructors thought that Asian students did not want to think and just wanted to rote learn. Pratt and Wong[32] found that Western instructors in Hong Kong criticised Chinese learning approaches as being overly instrumental and Chinese learners as being unwilling to think deeply. However, Marton, Dall'Alba, and Kun[33] as well as Kember[34] reported that culturally Chinese students memorise in order to understand more deeply. In fact, in the study conducted by Marton, Dall'Alba, and Kun, one of the culturally Chinese educators said: "In the process of repetition, it is not a simple repetition. Because each time I repeat, I would have some new idea of understanding, that is to say I can understand better".[35] Moreover, according to Marton and Saljo[36] what appears to be surface oriented learning, in fact can be deep oriented learning in which real understanding takes place. Similarly, On[37] and Watkins[38] point out that

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[30] Ibid.

[31] K. Samuelowicz, 'Learning Problems of Overseas Students: Two Sides of a Story', *Higher Education Research and Development* 6 (1987).

[32] D. D. Pratt and K. M. Wong, 'Chinese Conceptions of 'Effective Teaching' in Hong Kong: Towards Culturally Sensitive Evaluation of Teaching', *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 18 (1999).

[33] Ference Marton, Gloria Dall'Alba, and Tse Lai Kun, 'Memorizing and Understanding: The Keys to the Paradox?', in *The Chinese Learner: Cultural, Psychological, and Contextual Influences*, ed. David Watkins and John B. Biggs (Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, 1996).

[34] D. Kember, 'The Intention to Both Memorise and Understand: Another Approach to Learning?', *Higher Education* 31 (1996).

[35] Marton, Dall'Alba, and Kun, 'Memorizing and Understanding', p. 81.

[36] F. Marton and R. Saljo, 'On Qualitative Differences in Learning: 1. Outcome and Process', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 46 (1976).

[37] Lee Wing On, 'The Cultural Context for Chinese Learners: Conceptions of Learning in the Confucian Tradition', in *The Chinese Learner: Cultural, Psychological, and Contextual Influences*.

learning involves reflection and application, which is stressed already in early childhood socialisation within the family.

Tweed and Lehman[39] point out that research also sheds light on other misperceptions about Chinese learning. First, strategies used might differ, but effort-focused learning is not reduced to Chinese-based countries; it is also present in Western countries. Second, pragmatic outcomes need not to preclude learning-related goals. Third, although Chinese cultures may put more weight on norms (behavioural reform), this does not exclude the cultivation of attitudes, since they give high priority to moral rules. Fourth, although it might seem that questioning/dialogue is practiced little in Chinese education, it just has a different place: while Westerners practice overt questioning throughout the learning process, Chinese postpone questioning to the end, i.e., after memorising, understanding, and applying. Fifth, both Socratic and Confucian learners can construe their knowledge actively, although the former do so by expressing personal hypotheses and the latter by acquiring essential knowledge. Sixth, Westerners may underestimate the impact that a Confucian approach has on their learning, since "ability to solve unfamiliar problems in most sciences requires thorough acquisition of fundamentals and a practiced ability to apply those fundamentals".[40] Seventh, Chinese argue that a Socratic approach "leads to confusion because students fail to read widely or observe before they engage in argument. According to this Eastern perspective, the Socratic method can lead to argument by the uninformed, to a pooling of ignorance, and to poor rather than good thinking."[41]

A Proposal: Academic Biculturalism

In light of their analysis of current comparative research between culturally Western and culturally Chinese approaches to learning, Tweed and Lehman[42] encourage teachers to value both. In fact, they encourage teachers to be academically bicultural, i.e., that they foster both 'thoughtful acquisition' (Confucian approach) and 'thoughtful inquiry' (Socratic approach). Too often the Western-Socratic approach to learning has been overestimated and misused. The researchers point out that

> Some of what passes for instruction in critical thinking is not in fact modeling a superior or even Socratic approach to thinking. Rather,

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[38] David Watkins, 'Learning and Teaching: A Cross-Cultural Perspective', *School Leadership & Management* 161, no. 2 (2000).
[39] Tweed and Lehman, 'Learning Considered'.
[40] Ibid., p. 96.
[41] Ibid., p. 97.
[42] Ibid.

it is modeling an extreme Western and somewhat distorted Socratic value system in which criticism receives more emphasis than thinking, doubt is seen as morally superior to belief, and efforts to understand are at risk owing to premature criticism and rejection of others' ideas. We believe there is a place for teaching students how to criticize, but we also feel that many students in university lack the ability to argue competently in support of rather than against intellectual great thinkers.[43]

Hence, Tweed and Lehman advocate that both—'appreciative thinking' and 'critical thinking'—be practiced in teaching/learning situations. After all, appreciative thinking "will include a feeling of respect and possibly even awe or reverence for great ideas".[44] This indeed could enrich the learning process.

Beyond Polarisations in Theological Education: The Wisdom Tradition

As the interest in sociocultural variations of reasoning and approaches to learning is growing, there also seems to be an increasing awareness that in this age and time there needs to be a greater willingness to learn from one another and to allow differences to enrich each other.[45] Theological education would certainly profit from such mutual enrichment! After all, if canon is considered to be the clue to education—as Brueggemann suggests—then different traditions need to be pursued for a community to develop in a healthy way. In this respect, it is very interesting to note how God allowed different ways of knowing and different substances to

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[43] Ibid., 97.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Comparative studies between East Asia and the West are proliferating, and while in the past Anglo-American scholars—who only represent less than 8% of the world's population—have exerted a disproportionate influence on educational theory, policy and practice, this is changing today. During the 1990s countries such as the USA and UK have taken much interest in the school systems of East and South-East Asia, because their students demonstrate top achievement especially in science and mathematics. So, researchers in the areas of intercultural communication, linguistics, cross cultural psychology, international management, anthropology, and sociology have been trying to uncover value patterns in their cultures which could explain this phenomenon. See Yin Cheong Cheng, 'Cultural Factors in Educational Effectiveness: A Framework for Comparative Research', *School Leadership & Management* 20, no. 2 (2000); Clive Dimmock and Allan Walker, 'Comparative Educational Administration: Developing a Cross-Cultural Conceptual Framework', *Educational Administration Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1998); Clive Dimmock and Allan Walker, 'Developing Comparative and International Educational Leadership and Management: A Cross-Cultural Model', *School Leadership & Management* 20, no. 2 (2000); Stella Ting-Toomey, *Communicating across Cultures* (New York: Guilford, 1999); Allan Walker and Clive Dimmock, 'Mapping the Way Ahead: Leading Educational Leadership into the Globalised World', *School Leadership & Management* 20, no. 2 (2000).

complement each other in the canon, and also how these have similarities with sociocultural variations of reasoning and approaches to learning. The Torah tradition with its emphasis on continuity, tradition, and community presents some similarities with the sociocultural characteristics of Eastern/Confucian approaches to learning. The word of the prophet with its emphasis on discontinuity, challenge of the consensus, and the practice of criticism presents some similarities with the sociocultural characteristics of Western/Socratic approaches to learning. Now, the counsel of the wise or wisdom tradition is neither nor, but it provides a framework which allows for the interplay of both, and goes beyond them. In fact, Brueggemann suggests that wisdom theology needs to be recovered as an "exceedingly important critique and corrective of normative theology".[46] And indeed, it is being recovered not only in relationship to the theological task as such,[47] but also in relationship to the educational process.[48]

The Unique Nature of Wisdom

Wisdom literature can be found in most ancient civilisations. According to Elwell, it "is the most international and cosmopolitan in both form and content".[49] Hence, for millennia, wisdom has been considered to be "one of the highest forms of knowledge and skill",[50] and has been a focus of attention of sages, philosophers and theologians alike. However, during "the Enlightenment and the process of secularization, wisdom lost its salience as one of the fundamental categories guiding human thought and conduct".[51] Nevertheless, from time to time, and especially during the 1980s and early 1990s scholars tried to rejuvenate and revisit its meaning.[52]

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[46] Walter Brueggemann, 'Scripture and an Ecumenical Life-Style: A Study in Wisdom Theology', *Interpretation* 24 (1970), p. 5.

[47] See Ellen T. Charry, *By the Renewing of Your Minds: The Pastoral Function of Christian Doctrine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Daniel J. Treier, 'Theology as the Acquisition of Wisdom: Reorienting Theological Education', *Christian Education Journal* 3, no. 1 (1999); Daniel J. Treier, 'Virtue and the Voice of God: Toward a Postcritical, Sapiential Understanding of Theology', PhD Dissertation, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School (2002); Kevin J. Vanhoozer, 'The Voice and the Actor: A Dramatic Proposal About the Ministry and Minstrelsy of Theology', in *Evangelical Futures: A Conversation on Theological Method*, ed. John G. Stackhouse, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000).

[48] See William P. Brown, *Character in Crisis: A Fresh Approach to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996); Brueggemann, *The Creative Word*; Linda M. Cannell, 'The Delicate Fabric of Informed Wisdom: Theological Education in the 21st Century', Unpublished Manuscript (2001); Peter C. Hodgson, *God's Wisdom: Toward a Theology of Education* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1999); Charles F. Melchert, *Wise Teaching: Biblical Wisdom and Educational Ministry* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998).

[49] Alter A. Elwell, ed. *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible*, vol. II (s.v. 'Wisdom, wisdom literature'. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988), p. 2151.

[50] Ursula M. Staudinger and Paul B. Baltes, 'Wisdom, Psychology Of', in *Encyclopedia of Human Intelligence*, ed. Robert J. Sternberg (New York: MacMillan, 1994), p. 1143.

[51] Ibid., p. 1144.

[52] Ibid.

As wisdom is being revisited, it is interesting to note that its international/ecumenical character is being noticed anew in empirical research conducted among populations with different cultural backgrounds. For instance, Yang's empirical research about implicit theories of wisdom[53] among Taiwanese Chinese shows that wisdom consists of four factors: competencies and knowledge, benevolence and compassion, openness and profundity, and modesty and unobtrusiveness.[54] Yang points out that it shows similarities with previous studies such as those conducted by Clayton and Birren in South California,[55] by Sternberg among Americans,[56] by Holliday and Chandler among Canadians.[57] However—Yang continues—as is expected, there are also some elements that seem to be more salient in a given culture, as for example the spiritual aspect for Hispanics,[58] and suffering for the Tibetan Buddhist monks.[59]

Wisdom indeed belongs to the synchronic structure of human beings regardless of time, culture, variations of reasoning, and even of creed. Of course, as just noted above, cultures also do have special diachronic features when referring to wisdom, and Christians have a special and unique diachronic emphasis: Jesus Christ as the ultimate expression of God's wisdom. However, in spite of its diachronic expressions, wisdom by its very nature is ecumenical, that is, "it is the antithesis of polarization, for it assumes that both parties have something to learn from each other, that both come prepared not to change the other, but to be changed, to be open, to receive new perspectives and new insight. . . . It is dialogue, not as a technique but as a way of life".[60] Since this is the nature of wisdom, what are the modes of knowledge acquisition and of teaching used in the wisdom tradition within the canon and which need to be recovered for intercultural theological education?

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[53] The implicit approach to wisdom consists in asking people how they would describe wise knowledge and wise people.

[54] Shih-Ying Yang, 'Conceptions of Wisdom among Taiwanese Chinese', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 32, no. 6 (2001).

[55] V. P. Clayton and J. E. Birren, 'The Development of Wisdom across the Life Span: A Reexamination of an Ancient Topic', *Life-span Development and Behavior* 3 (1980).

[56] Robert J. Sternberg, 'Implicit Theories of Intelligence, Creativity, and Wisdom', *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 49, no. 3 (1985).

[57] S. G. Holliday and M. J. Chandler, *Wisdom: Explorations in Adult Competence* (Basel, Switzerland: Karger, 1986).

[58] J. M. Valdez, 'Wisdom: A Hispanic Perspective', Doctoral Dissertation, Colorado State University (1994).

[59] H. M. Levitt, 'The Development of Wisdom: An Analysis of Tibetan Buddhist Experience', *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 39 (1999).

[60] Brueggemann, 'Scripture and an Ecumenical Life-Style', pp. 4-5.

The Modes of Knowledge Acquisition

The modes of knowledge acquisition in the wisdom tradition are varied, complement each other, and seem to guard from the excesses of any one of them. Crenshaw points out that there are three ways of acquiring knowledge: through observation of nature and human behaviour, through analogy between creed and reality, and through encounters with the Transcendent One.[61]

The first mode, i.e., knowledge acquisition through the observation of nature and human behaviour is a peculiar mode within the biblical canon. Murphy points out that it "provides a biblical model for understanding divine revelation apart from the historical mode (salvation history) in which it is usually cast".[62] Indeed it is a mode that takes general revelation seriously. It recognises "that God's wisdom is understood to be universal, available to all human beings, irrespective of particular cultural or social identities",[63] since all truth is ultimately God's truth. Hence,

> Israel learned of her Lord also through experience and through creation. . . . Moreover, the openness of Israelite wisdom to the wisdom of Israel's neighbors—the clearly international character of the wisdom movement, the actual borrowings from Egyptian wisdom, the controlling references to creatures and creation— provides a biblical basis for the possibility that the non-Israelite can also respond . . . to the creator, who is the God revealed in Israelite and Christian experience.[64]

In a certain sense wisdom teachers acknowledged that when searching for truth as such no distinction needs to be made between secular and sacred realms in order to find it, since God's pedagogical presence is everywhere in the world.[65] Moreover, the belief was that if prosperity was to be experienced, it was necessary to know the laws that govern the universe and to live in harmony with them.[66]

Brueggemann suggests that to engage the God-created world in this way required "fascination, imagination, patience, attentiveness to detail, and finally, observation of the regularities which seem to govern".[67] Further

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[61] James L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), pp. 120-130.

[62] Roland E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature*, Third edition ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002), p. 126.

[63] Duane K. Friesen, *Artists, Citizens, Philosophers: Seeking the Peace of the City. An Anabaptist Theology of Culture* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald, 2000), p. 255.

[64] Murphy, The Tree, p. 126.

[65] Hodgson, God's Wisdom, p. 139.

[66] Crenshaw, Education in.

[67] Brueggemann, *The Creative Word*, p. 72.

on, having made generalisations, and recognising that knowledge is partial (Eccles. 8:17), exploration follows "to see how, in what ways, and to what extent new experience fits the generalization and to what extent it challenges, disputes, or overthrows the generalization".[68] This empirical way of knowing indeed left no room for "abdicating obscurantism which refuses to know or think or take responsibility, [but it also is] against a kind of shameless scientism which knows no limits, which bows before no mystery, and which reduces all of life to a technique",[69] since wisdom belongs to God (Prov. 25:2). It is dialectical and moves between human inquiry and divine mystery, because

> Both God and humankind have their proper work. The drama of concealing and searching out is the main vocation of human persons. Human persons are recalled to *power*. Much power comes in knowledge. This knowledge, however, leads not only to power. It may also lead to *praise*. And it is *praise* that conceals and redefines power. Thus the upshot of wisdom teaching is not *techniques* for management, but it is finally *doxology* which is based on wonder, awe, and amazement.[70]

In fact, the process of knowing starts with the "fear of the Lord" (Prov. 1:7; 9:10), is fueled by the desire to discern the God-ordained interconnectedness of life, and ends in praise to God.[71] Cognition (knowing) is not separated from emotion (awe) in order to gain objectivity, since the "ancient Hebrews could hardly imagine an objective posture before God".[72] Moreover, wisdom is not only the fruit of human effort (horizontal dimension: Job 35:10-11; Proverbs 4), but also the gift of God (vertical dimension: Prov. 2:6; Is. 28:23-29).[73] By emphasising both— knowledge derived from experience and through some sort of revelation— the sages refused to polarise these dimensions. In fact, "by affirming the necessity for a predisposition to knowledge, an openness to mystery, the sages sought to overcome the restraints on reason".[74]

The second source of knowledge is analogy, which calls for deep reflection, critical unmasking of that which is held to be known, and re-appropriation. In this case an analogy is made between the creeds that have been passed on by generations and now are tested in light of personal

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[68] Ibid., p. 73.

[69] Ibid., p. 74.

[70] Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[71] Walter Brueggemann, 'Praise to God Is the End of Wisdom - What Is the Beginning?' *Journal for Preachers* 12, no. 3 (1989).

[72] Melchert, Wise Teaching, p. 38.

[73] Crenshaw, Education in, pp. 239-53.

[74] Ibid., p. 250.

experience of reality.[75] Both Job and the person involved in Psalm 73 are examples of people who have deep questions as they struggle between creed and reality, as they try to "distinguish the true God from a variety of idols".[76] Moreover, the book of Job seems to suggest that "strongly held convictions might best be held with a slightly looser grip, that it might be wise to look for truth in viewpoints with which one disagrees".[77] Hence, it is advantageous to be part of a community of people who differ in their ways of perceiving and processing information.

The third source of gaining knowledge is direct encounters with God. These encounters give people such as Job and the person involved in Psalm 73 new insight into God's sovereignty and a transvaluation of values.[78]

These three modes of knowledge acquisition allow for interplay between analytic and holistic reasoning. They are inner-directed and seek to control (humankind is compelled to seek out knowledge, to be critical), as well as outer-directed and harmony-seeking (look for inter-connectedness, be willing to live with mystery, and wait to receive from God). They are universalistic (knowledge is pursued because it is believed that there is order), and yet also particularistic (knowledge is never complete and uniqueness is accepted). They make room for the analytic and the holistic modes of knowing, and at the same time transcend both, since they begin with the fear of the Lord, are sustained by trustful submission to him, and end in doxology.

The Modes of Teaching

These three ways of acquiring knowledge call for two modes of teaching: the expository or hortative, and the hypothetical. The former emphasises the teacher's authority and power of example and the student's responsibility to listen and absorb. The latter, on the other hand, requires active engagement, inquiry, and reflection on the part of the students.[79]

Expository or hortative teaching included, among other activities, the recitation and memorisation of proverbial sayings. Melchert describes the recitation process as follows:

> First, texts were read aloud by the teacher and repeated by the students, out loud in unison, over and over, perhaps with rhythmic

[75] Ibid., pp. 127-28.

[76] Walter Brueggemann, 'Passion and Perspective: Two Dimensions of Education in the Bible', *Theology Today* 42, no. 2 (1985): p. 178.

[77] Melchert, Wise Teaching, p. 109.

[78] Crenshaw, Education in, pp. 125-28.

[79] Ibid., p. 280.

movements, until they had mastered the text for themselves. . . . Second, as we know from archeological finds of copybooks, students would write sayings over and over, either from memory or as they were recited aloud by the teacher. Copying aided memory. When a teacher recites or reads aloud from the text, it is clear who has the authority. . . . Here originality and critical thinking are not valued highly.[80]

Memorisation, on the other hand, if it was verbal memory, could involve some creativity and originality since a story, poem or song could be re-created by making the traditional materials suit the audience and occasion.[81] However, exact or rote memorisation was more a matter of reproduction than re-creation.[82]

Hypothetical teaching could happen in various ways. For example, it could happen through proverbs that were like narratives without stories, and hence were inviting imagination: "A child who gathers in summer is prudent, but a child who sleeps in harvest brings shame" (Prov. 10:5). Other proverbs invited reflection and wonder through 'teasing out': "The wicked accept a concealed bribe to pervert the ways of justice" (Prov. 17:23).[83]

The overall mood of hypothetical teaching is dialogical and evocative. It happens at two levels. "There is a dialogue between teacher and learner, between the ones with more experience and those with less, between the tradition of experience and immediacy of experience. But there is also the dialogue of all the learners (including the teacher) with the stuff of life".[84] In this dialogical way of knowing, it is important to listen, weigh, and value the perspective of all involved in the pedagogical process. In fact, dialogue with God and other people is not seen "as a technique but as a way of life".[85] After all, the teaching process is to equip, to learn, to be attentive to God's hidden order and to be able to discern the clues for everyday living. Hence, teaching needs to be people and context oriented, but also task and goal oriented. Brueggemann rightly concludes by saying:

This kind of teaching is hard work. It requires a great deal of work on the spot. It demands imaginative 'adhocishness'. But that

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[80] Melchert, Wise Teaching, pp. 47-48.

[81] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[82] Melchert points out that the sages would make clear though that mere recitation was not enough. Hence the proverb in Proverbs 26:7: "The legs of a disabled person hang limp; so does a proverb in the mouth of a fool". See Melchert, Wise Teaching, p. 48.

[83] Melchert, Wise Teaching, pp. 17-73.

[84] Brueggemann, *The Creative Word*, p. 73.

[85] Brueggemann, 'Scripture and', p. 5.

imagination works in a field of orderly conviction. . . . The task of instruction is to teach the new ones to see in the midst of the disorder a coherence that can be relied on. Teaching may be giving people eyes to see.[86]

When matching up these modes of teaching against the variations of reasoning outlined by Nisbett and colleagues[87] and the approaches to learning outlined by Tweed and Lehman,[88] it is possible to see how the wisdom tradition could help theological education go beyond polarisation. The expository mode which emphasises the teacher's authority and power of example, and the student's responsibility to listen and absorb would tend to be a preferred mode for people with a collectivistic social background. The hypothetical mode which requires more active engagement and dialogue would tend to be a preferred mode for people with an individualistic social background. However, they do not need to be limited by social deterministic/dualistic categories, since their *Sitz im Leben* was in one and the same community: Israel!

Implications for Intercultural Theological Education

Often theological education has neglected the canon as a model of education, and stressed one tradition at the expense of the others. Brueggemann suggests that persons, churches, and institutions that are conservative have tended to lean toward the Torah tradition; those which exercised social criticism have often been more attracted toward the prophetic tradition; and the wisdom tradition has mostly been relegated to the "humanistic psychologists . . . who care for human potential and actualization . . . [or to those who are] more attuned to experimental learning and authority".[89] Hence, if the wisdom tradition in fact allows for the interplay of Western and Eastern ways of reasoning and approaches to learning—as suggested in this article—then it should not be surprising that the agenda of multiculturalism, the agenda of respect and acceptance of the culturally 'other' has been raised by institutions other than those represented by theological education. If this is to change, i.e., room be made for the wisdom tradition, what needs to happen in theological education if it is to become more intercultural?

First, there needs to be a greater appreciation of and integration with general revelation and the so called 'secular' truths. Of course, primacy

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[86] Brueggemann, *The Creative Word*, pp. 80-81.
[87] Nisbett and others, 'Culture and Systems'.
[88] Tweed and Lehman, 'Learning Considered'.
[89] Brueggemann, *The Creative Word Canon*, p. 11.

will continue to be given to the Spirit speaking through the biblical text; however, it needs to be remembered that

> Our theological reflections can draw from the so-called secular sciences, because ultimately no discipline is in fact purely secular. Above all, because God is the ground of truth, . . . all truth ultimately comes together in God. . . . Much of Western theology has focused on the church as the *sole* repository of all truth and the *only* location in which the Holy Spirit is operative. The biblical writers, however, display a much wider understanding of the Spirit's presence.[90]

Without doubt the writers of the wisdom literature are among those who listen to the Spirit in the 'other voices'. Now, in order to be able to hear the 'other voices' of the Spirit, it will be necessary to start listening to what 'secular' research is pointing out about reasoning: *all* reasoning is culturally biased! Consequently, all theologies are partial and in need of those who perceive and process information in culturally different ways. The wisdom tradition avoids the fragmentation that results from separating social sciences—so necessary to understand the crown of God's creation and culture—and theology—so necessary to understand the mystery of unity in the body of Christ in intercultural theological education. It indeed brings together what God never intended to be separated, namely, general and special revelation.[91] Both reveal God and, when held together by *phronetic* knowledge or wisdom, lead to harmonious doxology.

Second, theological education needs to be guided by an action/reflection instead of a theory/praxis paradigm. A theory/praxis paradigm usually is built upon the Greek hierarchical model of knowing in which theory is superior to praxis and the abstract is preferred over the concrete. Hence, the curriculum is divided into exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical theologies; the latter often being the 'Cinderella' of theological education.[92] This view of education will leave little room for cultural variations of reasoning, such as analytic and holistic cognition; and if it does, they will be viewed in a hierarchical way. However, the wisdom

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[90] Stanley J. Grenz, 'Articulating the Christian Belief-Mosaic: Theological Method after the Demise of Foundationalism', in *Evangelical Futures: A Conversation on Theological Method*, ed. John G. Stackhouse, Jr. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 2000), pp. 127-28.

[91] However, their relationship is governed by the 'Chalcedonian pattern,' i.e., although they maintain their unique integrity and complement each other, they nevertheless are asymmetrically related, and theology has conceptual priority over the human sciences. See Daniel S. Schipani, 'The Purpose of Ministry: Human Emergence in the Light of Jesus Christ', Unpublished paper presented to the faculty of Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary in the autumn of 1995, Elkhart, Ind., pp. 4-5.

[92] Daniel S. Schipani, 'Pautas Epistemológicas En La Búsqueda De Alternativas Para La Educación Teológica En América Latina', *Boletín Teológico* 20 (1985), p. 50.

tradition avoids a theory/praxis polarisation. Rather, it calls for wise action/reflection of all of life in such a way that the past is critically appreciated, the present is thoughtfully lived, and the future is trustfully anticipated.

Third, theological education needs to recover the unity between reason and spirituality, between knowing and fearing God, between knowing as a human effort and as a gift of God, between searching out and reverently accepting mystery, between inquiry and doxology. Moreover, it is necessary to heed Crowder's warning against wisdom being seen as a subtle ultra-intellectualism (a knowledge above knowledge), and against the *Zeitgeist* which tends to treat wisdom as a counterpart to 'enlightenment rationality' instead of a counterpart to 'folly', that is, a person whose deeds show unbelief and lack of moral goodness.[93] In Cannell's words, it is necessary for "reason and piety, and virtue and service to stand together".[94] This is what the wisdom tradition stands for! This is what needs to be fostered if theological education is to be intercultural.

Conclusion

Analytic reasoning, a Socratic approach to learning, and the prophet educational framework have been helpful tools to give analytical depth to the study of God's word. Holistic reasoning, a Confucian approach to learning, and the Torah framework could further enrich this study through its emphasis on integrative breadth. Both are needed, and more so if theological education is to be intercultural! The wisdom tradition offers an educational framework that may help explore a creative interplay between both, allow theological education to become intercultural, and to experience renewal. It can help undertake re-adjustments in light of the other's alterity in such ways that the multi-colour wisdom of God[95] can appear in all its colour.

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[93] Colin Crowder, 'Wisdom and Passion: Wittgenstein, Kierkegaard, and Religious Belief', in *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Wisdom in the Bible, the Church and the Contemporary World*, ed. Stephen C. Barton (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999).

[94] Cannell, 'The Delicate', p. 139.

[95] Ephesians 3:10

Jewish-Catholic coexistence in Lithuania during the 19th Century

Throughout the centuries Jews in Gentile societies had been remarkably homogeneous in terms of religion and ethnicity. As Rabbi Milton Steinberg put it, "from Babylonia to Spain, Jews obeyed the sacred legislation which made them all eat, pray, do business, marry, die and be buried according to universal fixed rules. It guaranteed the homogeneity in thought and action of all Jewry."[1]

This state of affairs continued as long as Jews were segregated in *ancien régime* societies. Their uniformity depended on their ghettoisation. The mediaeval European 'status society' excluded Jews, who were unable to take the Christian oath which bound it all together. Jews were wards of the king and lived in any given area by sufferance of the king alone subject to specific contractual arrangements. Individual Jews drew their status only from membership in a corporate entity—the Jewish community. The corporate Jewish community, the *kahal,* had virtual religious autonomy, and its oligarchic leadership enjoyed a great measure of authority over all of its members. There was no space for dissent or religious innovation.

With the growth of the Enlightenment and the emergence of the Jews from their segregated existence, they began to disappear into the host population, at least physically. Non-orthodox Jews could pass in a Christian crowd as ordinary members of society.

Lithuania's Jewish community had centuries-old roots in the country. For most of its history, Lithuania's predominantly agrarian and feudal society had been divided into a number of more or less clearly defined communities with distinct social, religious and linguistic characteristics. The Jews occupied a place as social inferiors, beholden to the landed aristocracy but, as a rule, economically inhabiting a space above the peasantry. Social interaction between the various estates was ritualised and, for the most part, carefully regulated by traditional law and custom.

As in the rest of Europe, the coming of political, economic and social modernity altered and eventually revolutionised the relationships of Lithuania's various religious and social communities. After the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria at the end of the 18th century, a large Jewish population appeared in the territory of the Russian Empire which, up to that time, had almost no Jews. In 1794, upon an order of Russian Empress Catherine II, a

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[1] Milton Steinberg, *The Making of the Modern Jew* (New York: Behrfman House, 1959), p. 52.

prohibition was issued for Jews to move from their places of residence to the internal provinces of Russia. This was a way to form a Pale of Settlement. In 1804, Russia published the first systemised set of rules for Jews (*The Statute of Jews*). The Russian Empire, treating Jews as 'persons detrimental to society' and wishing to establish administrative control over them, restricted their rights. Jews were demanded to move out of villages, were barred from any economic activities there and were not allowed to employ Christian farmhands. Russian tsarist policies were aimed at changing the status of Jews by resettling them from rural territories to towns (*shtetls*) and ghettos in the cities, weakening their contact with farmers. According to a prohibition of 1841, Jews living in the North Western provinces of the Russian Empire were prevented, not only from buying estates, but also from renting them to earn an income. Step by step these measures sank the Jewish community into poverty. The laws of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had prohibited Jews from lending money to Christians; meanwhile the Russian Empire established no restrictions on loans or bills. Therefore, Jewish-moneylenders profiting from Lithuanian peasants, or Jewish-innkeepers or traders became frequent objects of criticism in 19th century social and political writings.

The Jewish community in Lithuania

The Jews of Western Europe formed an important element of Jewry as a whole. However, in the heartland of the Jewish people, which lay in Eastern Europe, namely the Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia, the Jews not only constituted a coherent society but also a nation.

A specific definition of Lithuanian Jews (*Litvaks* in the Yiddish language) is given in a Hassid proverb: '*Litvak zelem – kop*', 'every Litvak has a small Christian cross in his head'. The personality of a Litvak is describe as rationally religious, devoted to science and the study of *Talmud Torah*, intellectual discipline and independence, reticence and reserved emotions, modesty and a sense of individuality. Jews were encouraged to settle in Lithuania proper because of the socio-economic circumstances which developed there after the Middle Ages, so their settlement was accompanied with a certain degree of tolerance. A small and isolated country, as was Lithuania, created a positive climate for the shaping of personality with the specific features of language and character.[2]

Litvaks were different from Hassids who stressed religious fervour

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[2] E. J. Schochet, 'The Character of Lithuanian Jews – the Heritage of Vilnius Gaon', *Vilnius Gaon and Roads of Jewish culture. Material of an International Scientific Conference* (Vilnius, 1999), p. 195.

over theoretical knowledge, were primarily concerned with a pietist-type empathy with God, clinging to the divine (*debekuth*), and emphasising religious actions and the process of prayer. An exceptional role among Litvaks was played by the Jewish community of Vilnius (called *Jerusalem of Lithuania* or *Jerusalem of the Yiddish,* due to its distinct Jewish identity), which became a centre of traditional Talmudic piety in northern Europe, a rabbinical orthodox (*minhagim*) centre established as a result of reforms initiated by Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon – The Gaon (Eminence, Genius) of Vilna, an honourable title attached to him as it had not been to any scholar in almost seven centuries. He has been called the "last great theologian of classical rabbinism".[3] The Gaon of Vilna became a symbol of resistance towards 'unauthorised change' in Judaism, as well as the model of devotion to tradition and its comprehensive truth claims. Gaon became a forerunner of the modern Jewish scientific research of scripture and Talmudic texts. A new way of interpreting the Talmud introduced by Gaon, and a method of teaching created by his student Rabbi Hayyim ben Isaac from Volozhin, served as cornerstones for the new studies and a rabbinic academy (*yeshiva*). Founded in 1803, it became one of the most celebrated academies of Talmudic rationalism in the 19th century and contributed to generations of rabbis until it was closed by the Russian government.

In Lithuania, the tradition of the Jewish enlightenment, *the Haskalah,* which promoted Jewish assimilation and integration into other cultures of Western and Central-Eastern Europe, was not strong. Though in Lithuania the supporters of emancipation, *maskilims,* disseminated the ideas of the *Haskalah* by producing secular works of literature and popular works on history and geography in both Hebrew and Yiddish throughout the entire 19th century, rationally pious *Litvaks* were the prevailing type of Lithuanian Jew. Lithuanian Jews lived in a closed community which was more conservative and less affected by modern innovations compared to Jewish communities in other regions.

Vilnius was the centre of spreading the ideas of emancipation, and published literature and news in Hebrew and Yiddish. It became the centre of Zionism in Russia, since the Central Committee of Zionists was located here. In no other province of the Russian Empire was Hebrew, the language of the Talmud orthodox and later Zionism, spoken by so many people. There was no question of the very small number of Jews seeing themselves as authentic Russians or Lithuanians or Poles. Still less was there any question of the Russians, Poles or Lithuanians accepting them as such. It was therefore natural and decisive that it was from the East that the major

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[3] Michael A. Fishbane, *Judaism: Revelation and Traditions* (San Francisco: Harper, 1987), p. 115.

social and political national movements in modern Jewry drew their strength, inspiration and *raison d' etre.* Only a minority of Jews in the East were themselves convinced Zionists. But it was definitely the condition of Eastern European Jews that all Zionists seriously sought to address. The early leadership of the Zionist movement was Central European. The essential clues to Zionism are to be sought in Odessa, Vilnius and Warsaw, rather than in Vienna, Berlin or Budapest.[4]

The Zionist idea of the 'return' or 'ingathering' of Israel to its land was a theological doctrine integrated in the liturgy, in the rituals of festivals, and in marriage. As an alternative nationalist ideology, Zionism was not a monolithic movement. *Litvaks* opposed Zionism because it encouraged the resurgence of Hebrew as a secular language and because it was identified with the secularism of the *Haskalach.*

It should be noted that social differences between Lithuanian Jews living in the countryside and those in towns (*shtetls*) were not as great as in other towns of Central and Eastern Europe, where Jews had held high offices in banking, journalism, medicine and universities. In these towns Jewish intelligentsia originated from wealthy commercial social classes and was prone to integration. Lithuanian Jewish communities lived a poor existence in the Pales of Settlement towns suffering from economic depression. Few Jews in Lithuania were *haute bourgeoisie;* the predominant stratum was *Lümperproletarier* subsisting on irregular income.

The period between 1827 and 1855 was the most difficult for Jews living in the Russian Empire. Following an order by Czar Nicholas I, young Jewish children were taken as recruits for 25 years (the Canton system). Nicholas I shared the widespread anti-Judaic prejudices of the Russian upper class, based partly on certain mediaeval traditions and on ignorance and distrust of the commercial occupations in which Jews were engaged.

Former permission for Jews to opt out of army service, valid during the rule of Catherine II, was renounced. Since the period of service was 25 years, and could begin from age twelve, the Jews were willing to pay whatever price was necessary to avoid it. However, through Nicholas' decree of 26 August 1827, Jews were made liable to military service and could be called up at any age between twelve and twenty-five. Every year Jewish communities had to find ten recruits per 1,000 of the Jewish population; among Gentiles the proportion of recruits was seven per 1,000.

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[4] Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The controversy of Zion. How Zionism tried to resolve the Jewish Question* (Sinclair –Stevenson, 1996).

Baptising Jews in the army was a rather frequent practice, as tsarist authorities undertook missionary tasks and wished to integrate the Jews into the Russian community. Until the middle of the 19th century Jews were treated as a corporate entity: taxes were levied against the group, not against an individual, and draft quotas were to be filed by the Jewish community council, *kahal*. At the same time, this was a challenge to the *kahals* who were given the responsibility to select recruits (*Nikolaevskie soldaty*) from the midst of the sons of poor, unemployed, and marginalised Jews. This divided the community: Jews loyal to tradition protested against the coercion; meanwhile most *maskilims* favoured this kind of forced emancipation. The poor were dissatisfied that children of the rich were exempt from military service. Communities then took to kidnapping recruits from each other.

> The home became a battleground as parents tried to fight off the kidnappers. Captured recruits were sometimes kept prisoners in their own town until the draft quota was filled and the army ready to claim the victims. Even those exempted by law weren't safe, since the communal lists were doctored in such a way that only the sons of the poor were drafted in lieu of the sons of the well-to-do. Like the *Judenrat* a century later, the leaders of the *kahal* oversaw this demoralisation, forced to choose who would live and who would never return.[5]

The Lithuanians were not exempt from recruitment either, but this process did not affect many of them, as most Lithuanians were peasants and belonged to the category of 'useful' population. Nevertheless, Lithuanian social writers sometimes accused Jews of escaping military service by bribing officials, who then recruited Catholics to replace them.[6]

A decree of 19 December 1844 abolished the *kahal* and brought Jews under the same system of city government as other citizens. The reforms of Nicholas I were inspired not by anti-Semitism, but by a bureaucratic desire for uniformity and an intolerance of anything which it could not understand. They were carried out by officials who were hostile to the Jews, who were themselves intensely distrustful of Gentile policies.

After Nicolas' death in 1855 the Cantonic system in the Russian Empire was removed by Alexander II. After the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire (1861), a small number of Jews were allowed to settle in

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[5] David Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse. Response to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (Harvard University Press, 1984), p.58.
[6] Vincas Kudirka, *Tėvynės varpai* (*The Bells of the Homeland*) 1889 (4), *Collected writings*, 2 (Vilnius, 1990), p. 438.

the internal provinces of Russia. As the censorship eased, a Jewish periodical press in Hebrew, Russian, Polish and Yiddish came into being. Positivism, which declared that art and literature had to be associated with real life social problems and the healing of social evils, penetrated the Jewish culture. Secular Jewish culture enjoyed its 'Golden Age'. Positivism also featured in the writings of Lithuanian authors (V. Kudirka, P. Vileišis and J. Šliūpas); however, they often linked it with the manifestations of anti-Semitism. The propagators of emancipation (*maskilim*) demonstrated their optimism about the policies by tsarist authorities just at the time when the people of Lithuania were undergoing serious repression.

The period between 1864 and 1883 was difficult for Lithuanians. As a result of the 1863 rebellion, printing in Latin script was banned, Catholicism was persecuted, and the policy of Russification was implemented in the system of education which brought persecution to underground Lithuanian schools. In 1864 property of the Catholic Church was confiscated, and almost all monasteries were closed. In 1865 a regime for the Catholic Church in the former Kingdom of Poland and Lithuanian provinces was instituted. There were seven bishoprics, reduced two years later to six. Priests received salaries from the state. Church administration was placed under the Directorate of Foreign Confessions of the Ministry of the Interior.

The native Lithuanian people, being outsiders of their own history,[7] faced the necessity to fight for their language and managed to mobilise their forces and join the family of nations fostering aspirations of statehood. The year 1883 saw the publication of the *Aušra* (*The Dawn*) magazine which gave birth to the movement for national revival. Meanwhile emancipated Jews, *maskilims,* lost all ground for optimism after tight regulations relating to the Pale of Settlement (1882) and restrictions on Jewish engagement in certain types of professional activities (1886-1889) were introduced. Later their displacement from large cities and territories of the Pale of Settlement (1891-1895) was launched.

The assassination of Alexander II was attributed to the Jews by anti-Semitic demagogues, and this resulted in the pogroms of 1881-1882. The Russian authorities showed little sense of urgency in stopping the outrages. 'Temporary Rules' prepared by Minister of Interior Tolstoy in August 1881 forbade Jews to live or acquire property outside towns or large villages, thus crowding their growing numbers into small areas and forcing them into those same professions from which they had been denounced for

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[7] Only 2% of Lithuanians lived in Vilnius; no Lithuanian industrial or commercial bourgeois existed.

monopolising. This engendered mass emigration of the Jewish population (which was further encouraged by the Zionist movement). Although the tsarist administration was an enemy of both Lithuanians and Jews, a historical dissonance can be distinguished in the destinies of the Lithuanian and Jewish nations.

Jewish – Lithuanian relations

Even as late as the mid 19th century, one could characterise the relationship between the Lithuanian peasants and the Jews as 'feudal', in the sense of being trapped within the framework of a highly stratified society within a traditional agrarian world. These two societies intersected primarily at an economic level. Most historians are aware that the charge of usury belongs to the standard arsenal of both traditional anti-Judaism and modern forms of anti-Semitism. More recently, historians have considered the way in which the image of the usurer as Jew has been so central to the cultural history of learned and popular forms of anti-Semitic prejudice. The discourse of usury also helped to establish rivalry between Jews and Christians in Lithuania, as they possessed a radically different and religiously specific conception of work and trade and a binary language of work and trade. On the one hand, there were Jews who did not really work, who had no sense of fair dealing and who were ruinous to the rural economy; on the other there were peasants who worked hard in the field, who earned their bread and were simple, honest, and easily deceived. In addition, as far as the peasants were concerned, "only the work of the land was fit for human labour", a common attitude among villagers as described in Ignas Končius' account of stereotypes among traditional *Žemaitijans* (Samogitians).[8] Rural Jews and rural Christians in the Lithuanian countryside had radically different ideas about economy, fair dealing and the rules of business.

However, rural Lithuanians and rural Jews shared the same language of work and trade – it was rough, swift and coarse with mutual insults as Christian peasants and Jewish tradesmen bargained in the *shtetl* market place and in the Jewish shops. These were the rituals that both sides knew and understood. Having Jews in *shtetl* and the countryside was a social necessity.

Conversely, the way of life and traditions fostered by Vilnius Jews were different from the Jews living in the tiny towns of Lithuania. The intensity of Jewish contacts with Gentiles differed as well. In Vilnius and in

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[8] I. Končius. *Žemaicio snekos* (*Tales of Žemajtijan*) (Vilnius: Vaga, 1990), pp.60-80.

other large cities with a high Jewish population, Jews lived in closed communities, and economic contacts with the Gentile population were limited.

Even in villages and small towns Jewish contacts with the Gentile population became less intensive due to Russian tsarist policies: as Jews were pushed out of the villages and into the towns, contacts with peasants weakened. Litvaks who established economic contacts with landowners were, in fact, alien to landowners and to the culture of noblemen just as they were distanced from Lithuanian countrymen. Lithuanian scholars describing Lithuanian-Jewish relations pointed out that the two nations lived near each other for centuries as two closed communities linked by almost no mutual relations, except for economic contacts.

Myths and beliefs of the rural folk

Due to a lack of deeper knowledge about the life of the Jewish community, in the 19th century and early in the 20th century, Lithuanian rural communities had some terrible myths about Jewish extra-terrestrial capabilities, their links with the devil, the use of Christian blood, the ability to harm a Gentile person, to interfere with prayer, and the ritualistic murdering of children, etc. The files on religion of the Lithuanian Folklore Archive record many cases of mediaeval fear existing as late as the 20th century.

Popular Lithuanian jokes about people of other religions or nationalities often featured a Jew who was made a fool of and deceived, while gypsies always swindled a Lithuanian. Ethnic nicknames given to Lithuanians – 'Jew' and 'Gypsy' – always had a negative connotation. These words were used to characterise a swindler, a deceitful and conniving person, and a liar. The devaluation of Jewish lifestyle and rules of ethics are frequently found in Lithuanian narrative folklore and 19th century didactic writings.

There was a popular belief that a Jew "used to attract the Devil", thus, if a Lithuanian came across a Jew on his path, this was considered a good sign.[9] Beating, deceiving or deriding a Jew was considered a good practice in the folklore and writings of the 19th century.[10] The didactic booklet 'Žydas ir dzūkas' (*A Jew and a Dzūkas*) published in 1912, tells of a Lithuanian who deceived a Jew and battered the latter with a stick. The

[9] P. Višinskis, *Antropologinė Žemaičių charakteristika* (*Anthropologic Character of Samogitians*), *Collected writings* (Vilnius, 1964), p. 214.
[10] Kaz. Macius, *Vainora, žydų budelis* (*Vainora, an Executioner of Jews*), (1914).

booklet is a pastiche of a Polish version stressing the disasters brought to Lithuanians by Jews—namely the exploitation and promotion of heavy drinking (Jews, it was claimed were interested in making Lithuanians drink as much as possible to ensure good *geschäft*).[11]

Anti-Judaism and Prejudice

Between 1945 and 1965 the Roman Catholic Church gradually reversed its position on Judaism and began to replace contempt with recognition of the ongoing vitality of the Jewish tradition. With Vatican II the Church admitted that it had been unprepared for the Holocaust because of its own past. Vatican II's 'Declaration on the Relations of the Church to Non-Christian Religions', *Nostra Aetate,* explicitly states that anti-Semitism is to be condemned and fought. The commission insisted, however, that the 19th century was the seminal period for understanding the causes of the Holocaust, and the Church bore no responsibility for modern anti-Semitism. Commission members maintained that 19th century nationalism and anti-Semitism was based on sociology, politics and race, but not on religion.

In Lithuania, up until the first half of the 19th century, all criticism against Jews stemmed from the focus on religious Christian-Judaic conflict and stressed the religious underpinning of the treatment of Jews.

John Dominic Crossan, in his controversial book *Who killed Jesus?*, stated that some stories in the New Testament had been the seedbed for Christian anti-Judaism.[12] According to Crossan, without this Christian anti-Judaism, lethal and genocidal European anti-Semitism would either have been impossible or at least not as widely successful. Crossan insists that anti-Semitism emerges in history when anti-Judaism is combined with racism. Anti-Judaism is religious prejudice: a Jew can convert to avoid it; whereas anti-Semitism is racial prejudice: a Jew can do nothing to avoid it. "What was at stake in Jesus' passion stories, in the long haul of history, was the Jewish Holocaust." [13]

The mediaeval relationship between Christians and Jews existed on two levels. One was at a secular level, including the everyday commercial relationship of customers and tradesmen, amd social contacts amongst neighbours, which were often friendly. The other level was theological,

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[11] Vaidevutis, *Žydas ir dzūkas* (*A Jew and a Dzukas*), (Chicago, 1912), pp. 15-17.
[12] John Dominic Crossan, *Who Killed Jesus? Exposing the Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 35.
[13] *Ibid.,* p.35.

with the formal position taken by Christian theology pronouncing Judaism to be subordinate to Christianity and regarding all Jews as potential converts and subjects of evangelisation. Frequently the two were blurred. Theological subordination led to secular suppression which took the form of special oppressive taxation, confiscation of property, and the expulsion of Jews from cities and country regions, or, as in the case of England (1290) and Spain (1492), from the entire country.

The basic papal policy, formulated by Gregory the Great (590-604) declared that Jews were to receive protection from the law, but were not to exceed the privileges the law gave them to live in Christian countries and practice their religion freely.

Letters formulating this basic attitude to protect Jews from unjust attacks and riots as well as compulsory baptisms were issued by many popes. Following this view, a canon law was introduced, *Constitutio pro Iudaeis*. The policy of conversion was actually a theological expectation rather than a programme. The relations, the laws, the suffering, and the privileges differed from country to country and from century to century.

Between the 2nd and 5th centuries, the hermeneutical tradition of Christianity had developed two main postulates: the glorification and worship of Jesus Christ as the Messiah and Son of God, and *Adversus Judaeos,* a theological condemnation of Judaism and the Jews. Christianity and Judaism were in conflict over the interpretation of the same holy writings and the exploitation of the same tradition. If Christianity was true, why were there any Jews at all? If the Jews had killed Christ, was it not right that they should be cursed and persecuted? St. Augustine proposed a solution to the antithesis seen between St. Paul's teaching about the Jews as the first converts (Thess 2:14-16) and accusations of the murder of their prophets, culminating in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ: Jews had to be segregated from Christians, but tolerated. Their destiny in exile was to be a witness of the true teachings of the Church and Christ (*testes iniquitatis* and *veritatis nostrae*).

The Lithuanian Catholic Church followed the tradition formed by St. Augustine. The 19th century writings of Lithuanian priests refer to the stories about Jesus' arrest, trial, abuse, crucifixion, burial and resurrection and the Jewish 'fault'.[14] Yet at the same time, they emphasised the principle

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[14] "When Pilate saw that he could do nothing, but rather that a riot was beginning, he took some water and washed his hands before the crowd, saying. 'I am innocent of this man's blood; see to it yourselves'. Then the people as a whole answered, 'His blood be on us and on our children!' (Matt 27:24-25). "In commenting on this passage, one cannot ignore its tragic history in inflaming Christian hatred for Jews."

of Christian love to one's neighbour. This dichotomy was characteristic of not only hierarchy and clerks of the Catholic Church, but also of lower social groups in Lithuania. This is illustrated by the short story 'Silkės' ('Herring') by Lithuanian writer Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius. A Lithuanian woman by the name of Marcelė steals some herring from a poor old Jewish peddler supplying goods to rural people. Marcelė tries to excuse herself with a common argument: this is not a sin, since "they deceive lots of our people" and "it was them who tortured and crucified our Almighty God". A shepherd in the same story is convinced that posthumously, even in Hell, Catholics will never stay together with Jews.[15] However, after seeing in her dream that deceiving a Jew is also a sin, and she will go to Hell for stealing the Jew's herring, Marcelė decides to pay him on the following Sunday.

In the 19th century, the negative approach of Lithuanian Catholics towards Jews was predetermined by anti-Judaic tradition in rural communities inherited from mediaeval myths of ritual killing. Devaluation, fear and, sometimes, hatred of Jews was nourished by the many children's rhymes and stories that represented the Jews as creatures of the Devil. The most terrifying of these tales must have been legends of child sacrifice, the alleged ritual murders of Christian children by Jews, whereby the innocent victims were slowly tortured and bled to death as preparation to use the blood for *matzas*. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the first documented case of a ritual murder prosecution was the alleged martyrdom of a Christian boy in 1495. Veracity of ritual murders in Europe was thoroughly discredited in the late 19th century by scholars who set out to refute the renewed charges of ritual murders and a new wave of child murder accusations against Jews in the rise of anti-Semitism.[16] However, the discovery of murdered children furnished the material evidence necessary to convict the Jews, bringing many Lithuanian peasants to believe ritual murder was a reality even until the middle of the 19th century. Anti-Judaic prejudices about Jews kidnapping children and using Christian blood to "bake *matzas*" turned out to be deep-seated indeed.[17]

An example of anti-Judaism by Polish–Lithuanian noblemen can be found in the book *De moribus tortarorum, lituanorum et moschorum* by Mykolas Lietuvis published in 1550. Mykolas Lietuvis wrote that the lands

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(Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: from Gethsemane to the Grave - a Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), p. 831).

[15] Vincas Krėvė, *Bobulės vargai. Silkės. Išsibarė.* (*Grandma's Troubles. Herrings. Quarreled.*) (Kaunas, 1933), p. 39.

[16] Hermann L. Strack. Der Blutaberglaube in der Menschheit: Blutmorde und Blutritus (Munich, 1892).

[17] Paradoxically, mediaeval images of 'ritual killing' strengthened at the end of the 1930s when Lithuania was undergoing the processes of economic modernisation and improved public education.

of the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were flooded by *pelsima gens Iudaica* (an awful Judaic nation),

> who take away the sources of subsistence from Christians in all market places, who do not know a behaviour other than fraud and slander; as the Holy Bible says this is the most horrible nation of Chaldaenic origin (*ex progenie Chaldaeorum*), reprobate, sinful, unfaithful and sordid.[18]

In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, myths of a Jew as a ritual killer, and bizarre stories about the prowess of Jewish magic were exploited by representatives of both the higher and lower classes. Alongside the growing fear of Judaism grew the stereotype of a "Jew as a permanent enemy of Christians", as formulated by the first rector of Vilnius University, Jesuit Piotr Skarga. Anti-Judaic tendencies, which were popular with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th century, transformed the approach of noblemen towards the Jews: a certain degree of acceptance of the Jewish character was replaced with the perception of abstract evil committed by Jews against Christians (the torturing and killing of Jesus Christ and economic exploitation of Christians).

Some anti-Judaic aspects can be identified in the writings of the influential 19th century figure, Samogitian Bishop Motiejus Valančius (1801-1875). Valančius had employed criticism of Jewish behaviour and actions in order to protect Lithuanian farmers from financial skulduggery and to help Lithuanians gain some economic weight in crafts and trade in which the Jews prevailed. Motiejus Valančius did not consider Jewish shopkeepers and innkeepers evil *per se,* but underlined their evil deeds – spying for the tsarist authorities, promoting hard drinking and fraud, etc. Motiejus Valančius was a founder of anti-alcoholic (sobriety) societies, thus he would place a Jewish-innkeeper at the opposite pole of proper ethical behaviour on the basis of moral rather than economic criteria. About 83% of Catholics in the Kaunas province belonged to the sobriety brotherhoods which, like in Ireland, were associated with the national movement, while Jewish innkeepers and landowners were in no way interested in the successful activities of the sobriety societies.

Motiejus Valančius proposed a programme which urged people not to trust Jews; not to fraternise with them; to be cautious of being deceived; not to tell them secrets; not to give in to temptations by Jews to drink vodka and disobey priests, because "a Jew will treat Catholics well as long as they

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[18] Mykolas Lietuvis, *Apie totorių, maskvėnų ir lietuvių papročius* (*About the Customs of Tartars, Muscovites and Lithuanians*) (Vilnius, 1966), p. 52.

give profit to him".[19] Yet the programme offered by Motiejus Valančius concerning the position Catholics should hold with respect to Jews was neither racist nor radically anti-Semitic. For him, Jesus' teaching about loving one's neighbour was higher than any means of fighting against Jews: "It is not decent for a Catholic to let a Jew into his home or to go to a Jew's home. Our people should not care about those vagabonds all the time, but Catholics cannot help doing this because Christ taught us to love our neighbour and pray for the persecuted."[20]

The first anti-Judaic writing in Lithuanian was 'Talmudas Žid' (*The Talmud of Jews*) by Serafinas Kušeliauskas (1879).[21] The book was not original. Kušeliauskas wrote a pastiche of the statements of the convert Jakov Brafman's book 'Kniga o kagale' (1870). The Talmud was described as 'foolishness', a collection of witchcraft and nonsense, in which Jews slandered Christ and his supporters and tried to harm Christians on every possible occasion. In fact, Kušeliauskas criticised not only Judaism, but also Protestantism, on the grounds that Roman Catholicism alone contained the true and correct teaching which led to salvation of the soul.

Anti-Judaic statements in the field of theology were repeated by priest and a professor of St. Petersburg Spiritual Academy, Justinas Bonaventūra Pranaitis. In 1911, he was invited by prosecutors to provide his expertise in Beilis's case in Kiev, where he concluded that Jewish religious laws permitted them to use blood in religious rituals. His book *Christianus in Talmude Iudaecorum, sive Rabbinicae doctrinae de christianis secreta* was published in St. Petersburg during the years of the upsurge of anti-Semitism in Russia (1892) and was translated into German, Russian, Italian, Polish and Lithuanian.[22] Pranaitis principally based his arguments on the books of Johan Andreas Eisenmenger[23] and August Rohling,[24] classics of religion-oriented anti-Semitism. *Entdecktes Judenthum* by Eisenmenger was targeted "to help Jews admit their fallacy and learn about the light of Christianity". His study interprets Judaism as a collection of ridiculous prejudices and degenerated laws. Eisenmerger blamed Jews for killing God, profaning Christ and constantly harming Christians. Most of the European anti-Judaic authors reiterated the ideas by Eisenmenger. In the forward of the book, Pranaitis wrote that his purpose

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[19] Motiejus Valančius, *Paaugusių žmonių knygelė* (*A Booklet for Grown-ups*) (Tilžė, 1906), p. 43.

[20] *Ibid.*, p.43.

[21] *Talmudas židu sulig priglaudimu knigelės musu žydai (On the Talmud of Jews)*.

[22] Revd J. B. Pranaitis, *Krikščionis žydų Talmude arba slaptingas rabinų mokslas apie krikščionybę* (*Christians in the Jewish Talmud and Secretive Teaching of Rabbis about Christianity*) (Seinai, 1912).

[23] Johanes Andreas Eisenmenger, *Entdectes Judhentum.* Bd. 1-2, (Königsberg - Berlin, 1710).

[24] August Rohling, *Talmudjude* (Münster, 1871).

was to "make every reader understand what kind of eyes Jews, the followers of the Talmud, looked with at Christians".[25] Pranaitis takes many quotes from the Torah and Talmud out of context, attempting to reflect Jewish hostility towards Christianity and Christ's teaching, and presents ideas showing that Jews cannot do good to any Christian (*goy*), that the deceit of a goy is permitted, and that Jews must harm Christians and eradicate them.[26] Pranaitis places Judaism and Catholicism at two different extremes, saying that "Jews are praying, begging God to ruin that vicious, godless kingdom of Rome, i.e. our holy Catholic Church, meanwhile the Pope tells us to pray even for worthless Jews in order to make them acknowledge Christ, our Almighty."[27]

The Roman Catholic Church's position towards Jews

After the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was incorporated into the Russian Empire, the Russian Orthodox Church became the official state religion, and the Catholic Church became a persecuted institution. The Catholic Church was repressed after the anti-tsarist rebellions of 1830-1831 and 1863-1864. During the reign of Alexander III Russification became an official policy. A new basis for legitimacy was being claimed for government in addition to the old: loyalty was claimed in the name of the Russian nation as well as in the name of a monarch appointed by God. Catholics became victims of Russification.

The representatives of the Catholic Church in Lithuania turned to defending Lithuanian nationalism and national resistance, and from the 19th century, they were active participants of the Lithuanian national revival movement. However, unwilling to cause more serious persecution, the Lithuanian Catholic Church tried to avoid open conflict with tsarist officials and emphasised the necessity of a cultural-ethnolinguistic fight for Catholic Lithuanian identity. The persecution perpetrated by tsarist authorities played a double role in shaping the approach of Catholics toward Jews. It intensified the anti-Semitic predisposition among Catholics as Jews were blamed for indulging tsarist officials (reporting about Lithuanians during anti-tsar rebellions, spying on them, etc.) and economic exploitation of Lithuanians. And yet, persecution weakened anti-Semitism because Lithuanian Catholics felt themselves as a discriminated minority and thus became more sensitive towards other discriminated groups.

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[25] J.B. Pranaitis. *Ibid.,* p. 5.
[26] *Ibid.,* pp. 72-84.
[27] *Ibid.,* p. 92.

Moreover, Jewish book vendors and smugglers were involved in the transportation of Lithuanian books from Eastern Prussia to Lithuania.

Ideas of liberalism and socialism were not acceptable for the Lithuanian Catholic Church in the second half of the 19th century. Values developed during the evolution of modern capitalism were considered to be 'Jewish' phenomena. Catholicism positioned 'Masonic - Jewish heresies' against the preservation and defence of traditional Christian values. In 1884, Pope Leo VIII, in his encyclical *Humanun genus*, wrote that masonry, gathered in a clandestine structure, constituted a genuine source of communist and atheistic propaganda. Consequently, the writings of Lithuanian clergy talked about connections of Jews, Masons and Socialists unified by hatred toward Catholicism and national values. Jews were associated with property, power and money, and were thought to have one single goal – to gain power. The 1917 the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the numbers of Jews involved in it contributed to further development of the theory of the 'international Jewish conspiracy'.

The Lithuanian Catholic Church always rejected racial anti-Semitism, which was popular among Western anti-Semites, as it considered racial anti-Semitism to be an anti-Christian phenomenon. Nonetheless, even within Catholic writings, elements of racial anti-Semitism surfaced (regarding the worthlessness of Jews and Jewish stagnation in the course of history, since they still demonstrated their exclusiveness and followed only the rules of the Talmud which was anti-Christian). The leader of the Lithuanian national revival, Vincas Kudirka (1858-1899), a positivist who rejected any mediaeval prejudices, still wrote about "the blight of Jews with their dirt and self-neglect polluting the air with secrets of the Talmud, with the filthy morals distorted by the harm made to Christians."[28]

Nationalism and Anti-Semitism

By the end of the 19th century, Lithuanian nationalism was based on a dichotomy between the emphasis of Lithuanian superiority over other nations and the inferiority complex caused by an undeveloped social structure and lack of unity among Lithuanians. Lithuanian nationalism manifested itself in aiming towards 'ethnic-linguistic purity', i.e. the strengthening of the Lithuanian language and national identity. Thus, by emphasising the significance of a mono-cultural society, other national groups were culturally devalued. Lithuanians did not aim to restrict the

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[28] Tėvynės varpai. (*The Bells of the Homeland*). 1890. No. 10, V. Kudirka. *Collected Writings.* Vol. 2. (Vilnius, 1990), p. 457.

rights of Jews in Lithuanian society via legal elimination (since the tsarist authorities were imposing similar restrictions on the Catholics), but the 'cultural fight' against the dominance of the Jews was accentuated.

Anti-Semitism in the second half of the 19th century in Eastern and Central Europe was a modern phenomenon caused by the development of nationalism and capitalism, comprising certain ideas and concepts, such as racial segregation, that were not characteristic of old anti–Judaism. In 1879, a radical German politician and writer, Wilhelm Marr, coined the term 'anti-Semitism', replacing the old term 'Jewish phobia' which no longer conformed to the pseudo–academic, nationalist and anti–Christian ideology.

After the devastating pogroms in Russia and the French Dreyfus affair in the 1890s, the father of Zionism, Herzl, despaired that anti-Semitism would ever cease and abandoned the Western acculturation ideal. He became convinced that an acculturated Western Jew would continue to endure in an invisible ghetto into which he was cast by anti-Semitism.

Modern political anti-Semitism that accompanied the rise of radical nationalism became the most strident note of nationalist politics in Central and Eastern Europe. Radical anti-Semitism, which was able to make its loud voice heard throughout Central Europe, had much to do with the inability of liberal movements to politically manage the social effects of economic change. In Central Europe liberal movements almost universally failed to capture middle-class constituencies and Germany's liberalism offered the only real hope for their integration into, and acceptance by, society on the basis of equal rights. The price of acceptance was nothing less than assimilation, but many Central European Jews, aspiring to the bourgeois status, were willing to pay it.

Polish and Lithuanian liberalism was never fully comfortable with modern industrialism because the capitalist entrepreneurial class in Lithuania, as in Poland, was not ethnically Polish or Lithuanian. Lithuanian positivists, like Vincas Kudirka, promoted the idea of honest and industrious Lithuanian craftsmen in partial fulfilment of their wish for Lithuanian industry and commerce to be strong without 'alien', Jewish, participation. Otherwise, the ideas of Polish liberalism about Jewish 'assimilation' and 'civilisation' of the Yiddish-speaking Jewish caste, did not get a grounding among Lithuanian liberals.

In Lithuania, a comprehensive anti-Semitic ideology was not created and anti-Semitism did not develop extreme forms, confining itself to the propagation of the economic fight against the Jews. Analysing the roots of

anti-Semitism at the end of 19th century in Lithuania, it should be noted that anti-Semitism was stimulated by the difficult economic situation of the Jewish community, as well as by the fight of Jews and non-Jews for the same means of subsistence. After the 1861 abolition of serfdom, Lithuanian peasants started moving to the cities and engaging in trade and crafts, professions which were earlier dominated by the Jews. 19th century Lithuanian authors, who defended Lithuanian peasants from various forms of exploitation, drew attention to the economic struggle that caused the Jewish–Lithuanian conflicts. The struggle was stimulated by the Jews' efforts to manage economically under the conditions created by the tsarist discriminatory laws. The resourcefulness of Jewish tradesmen and their skills in selling would evoke envy from neighbouring nations, who considered the Jews' trading ability, formed throughout many centuries, as deceit and the swindling of Christians. The initiators of the Zionist movement in Eastern Europe had also noted that the commercial methods employed by the Jewish traders stimulated anti-Semitism. The rules of the Torah and Talmud regulating the relations of Jews with Gentiles did not forbid Jews to profit from non-Jews. The Jewish traders, as any other traders, did not avoid profiting by unscrupulous methods. The authors of anti-Semitic books and articles would not, however, reveal the economic aspects, thus generalising the traits of Jewish character. Vincas Kudirka wrote that "one may encounter dishonest merchants among the Christians, but one will not find a single honest Jewish trader."[52]

19th century Lithuanian authors borrowed some anti-Semitic ideas from neighbouring countries where anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism merged with nationalism and competition in the economic sector. During the 19th century industrial revolution in Europe, assets became capital that could circulate freely, be pawned or sold. Capitalism ignored sentimentality and rejected the old agricultural, 'feudal' values. Competition became the driving force of modern society. Representatives of nationalistic-awakened nations began forcing their way into small and medium economies, pushing the Jews out of their traditional occupations. Anti-Semitism in the works of national rebirth activists, urging the nation to push Jews out of crafts and trade was largely conditioned by the Jewish–non-Jewish competition for the means of subsistence, not by the low quality of the Jewish traders and craftsmen's services or swindling.

The advent of the national movement after the anti-Tsarist insurrection of 1863, and, most importantly, the appearance of a secular Lithuanian-speaking intelligentsia, introduced new and complex factors

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[52] Vincas Kudirka, On the shops, *Selected Works*, 2 (Vilnius, 1990), p. 766.

into the relationship between Jews and Lithuanians. The democratic slogans of the uprising raised hopes of Jewish emancipation, as well as the liberation of Gentile peasants. Both sides had come to see anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic Tsarism as the enemy. At the same time, the secular Lithuanian intelligentsia came into contact with modern anti-Semitism, which had already developed a following in Austria, Germany and France. Thus, the negative folk stereotypes of Jews and the natural dislike and fear of the 'other' were reinforced by modern nationalist theories, some of which contained the germs of pseudoscientific racism.

The beginning of the 20th Century

By the beginning of the 20th century, the predominance of Jews in certain areas of Lithuania's economy had become quite evident. Lithuania counted 157,527 Jews in its 1923 census—7.6% of the total population—a lower-middle-class and proletarian community of small shopkeepers and artisans.

In Europe, after the Great War, Jews were in need of prosperous, tolerant and stable societies in which their differences from the host population may possibly be irritating, but would not be provocative. Yet between the wars Europe provided probably the worst possible environment for the various Jewish communities, pushing them towards perilous choices.

Independent Lithuania's (1918-1940) legal and political structure provided a basic guarantee for the Jewish minority and a barrier against anti-Semitism. Foreign invasion and war would sweep away this structure with fatal consequences for Lithuania's Jews, as well as for much of the Lithuanian population at large. This development was consistent with the course of Lithuanian history. Jews have been part, not only of Lithuanian history, but of the very story of Christianity itself; their religion serves as a witness to Christian truth; their prophets are Christian prophets, their Bible part of the Christian Bible. No other minority in Lithuanian history has occupied so central and yet so uncomfortable a position.

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Evangelicals, friends measure legacy of 'leading theologian' Stan Grenz[1]

As scholars and friends mourned the sudden and premature death of Baptist theologian Stanley Grenz (55), they wondered what would be the legacy of the man often called the leading evangelical theologian of his time.

Grenz, who died on 12 March 2005 after suffering a brain haemorrhage while he slept in his Vancouver home, led evangelicals into new-found respectability in world-wide theological circles and – to the worry of conservative friends and foes – to engage postmodern thought. "He was one of the very first to see, in the postmodern turn in philosophy and culture, great opportunities for the gospel", said author-pastor-speaker Brian McLaren, often cited with Grenz as the key thought leaders of the emerging-church movement. "Many other theologians only saw dangers. And their critiques of [Grenz's] work struck me as harsh, reactionary, uncharitable and often grossly unfair."

A popular professor at Carey Theological College and Regent College, Vancouver, Grenz was a prolific theologian who published 25 books on such diverse topics as ethics, eschatology, homosexuality and the Trinity. A fan of science fiction and student of pop culture, Grenz used illustrations from Star Trek to explain postmodern philosophy in 1996s *A Primer on Postmodernism.* "Stan was without any doubt the foremost evangelical theologian of this moment", said co-author and friend Roger Olson, professor of theology at Baylor's Truett Theological Seminary, where Grenz taught for a year.

But the diminutive Grenz liked to describe himself simply as "a pietist with a PhD", and friends say his life mirrored his call for integrating warm-hearted Christian orthodoxy with rigorous intellectual engagement. Admirers and critics alike say he gave evangelical theology something sorely needed – a heart. He was described as a gentle soul who embraced his critics and encouraged his friends. He often opened seminary classes by playing praise songs on his guitar. He played guitar and trumpet with the worship team at Vancouver's First Baptist Church, where his wife, Edna, serves as worship minister. The church as a community of believers was likewise important in his theology. Books like *Created for Community* (1996) voiced the emerging church's theme of balancing evangelical individualism with the accountability of the local congregation.

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[1] The article appeared originally in Associated Baptist Press News.com 05-26, 03.24.2005 http://www.abpnews.com/news/news_detail.cfm. Republished with permission of the author and ABP.

Many say Grenz's greatest contribution was as a theological bridge-builder, helping evangelicals leave their 'theological ghetto' and engage the larger scholarly world. "He was always trying to develop relationships of dialogue and mutual understanding between groups of theologians who otherwise tended to be cut off from each other", Olson said.… "He regarded much of traditional evangelical theology as too rationalistic (foundationalist) and scholastic for postmodern Christians. However, he was not uncritical toward postmodernism and never capitulated to the deconstructionist impulses of radical postmodernism".

Nonetheless, some conservative friends and critics say the bridge Grenz built is leading evangelicals to a dangerous place. "We all admired his prolific pen and his tireless work ethic", wrote conservative David Dockery, president of Union University, after Grenz's death. "Stan Grenz was a committed Baptist, a churchman of the first order and a warm-hearted pietist. Unfortunately, his pietism didn't translate into evangelical coherence or orthodox consistency."

Many conservatives embraced the 'early Grenz', when the scholar defended the Baptist tradition and evangelical sexual ethics, while venturing more progressive ideas on women in ministry and homosexuality. But Dockery and others parted ways with Grenz after the Canadian theologian wrote *Revisioning Evangelical Theology* in 1994, which called for an overhaul of the evangelical approach to theology into one centred on the Kingdom of God and Christian community. Conservative critics said that would abandon evangelicals' central commitment to biblical authority and propositional truth.

Olson disagreed. While Grenz considered doctrine "a living tradition" that must not be fixed in stone, Olson said, he was not a relativist but believed in "the absoluteness of God's revelation in Jesus Christ". *Revisioning* was a 'seminal' book that – along with follow-up works – blazed a trail that other theologians have followed, said John Franke, co-author with Grenz of *Beyond Foundationalism* (2000), which argued for a philosophical approach that moves beyond the conservative-liberal divide over propositional truth. Evangelical theology is "still in the trajectory" set by *Revisioning*, Franke said.

Grenz's ambitious decade-long undertaking rightly earned him the distinction of evangelicalism's leading theologian, but Franke, associate professor of theology at Biblical Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, added: "I can understand other folks, more conservative, not feeling that way. But even where people don't agree with him, he is raising questions

that even conservative theologians need to be raising. Even for folks who really can't agree with him, they are still benefiting from the way he was raising the issues."

Some conservatives want even to deny Grenz the 'evangelical' label. Timothy George, dean of Samford's Beeson Divinity School, won't go that far, but he is worried about his friend nonetheless. "While I could not follow the trajectory of his theological work – which seemed to me to embrace the postmodern paradigm with an enthusiasm that did not always recognise the dangers in such a move – I always appreciated Stan's desire to work within the context of historic Christian orthodoxy. Despite our disagreements, I greatly valued his friendship and collegiality and join with many others in mourning our loss."

Grenz's willingness to take the lead – and the heat – for revisioning evangelicalism was what drew so many people to him, said Christopher Morton of Manchester, England, a young theologian who studied under Grenz. "These books were meant to be dialogue partners with the new generation of thinkers, scholars and theologians who would be taking evangelicalism into the 21st century and beyond", he said. While an earlier generation of scholars – like Carl F.H. Henry and Millard Erickson – helped put evangelicalism on the map, Grenz "really was the pioneer" in bridging the evangelical-mainline gap, said John Franke, and that will be his enduring legacy. "It is vitally important in this moment to heal some of this division that has plagued American Christianity", Franke said.

If he had lived, Grenz might soon have taken this quest to a very prominent new arena – the prestigious liberal bastion of Harvard Divinity School, which reportedly was considering him for its evangelical professorship. "I don't know whether he would have accepted it", said Olson, "but he was a front-runner."

Grenz's rise to prominence at a relatively young age was fuelled in part by his prodigious writing. He told friends he needed to write while he was young because his father died at an early age. Still most colleagues say his best work lay ahead of him. "His writing ministry will only grow in significance in the years ahead, as people realise the extraordinary treasure we had among us", wrote McLaren, who credited Grenz for the title of his latest book, *A Generous Orthodoxy*. "What we will never have are the books Stanley would yet have written. … Now that work will need to be taken up by those of us who enjoyed the blessing of his teaching and example."
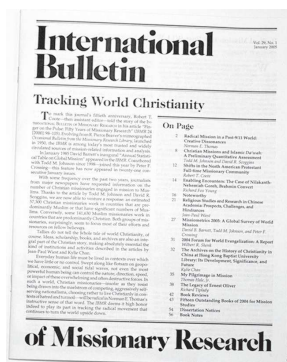
"He was a man of small physical stature. But the space he leaves – in our hearts and in our Christian community – cannot be filled by a dozen others." While Grenz's death "is a huge loss", Franke agreed, there's no shortage of young scholars eager to follow his path. "There are a lot of people who were wanting to do the kind of work Stan was doing. And many of those people have some connection to Stan.…. There will be a lot of really good things happening from a lot of good sources and directions."

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Book Reviews

Tim Carter, Anthony Clarke (eds) et al
Expecting Justice, But Seeing Bloodshed: Some Baptist Contributions to Following Jesus in a Violent World
Oxford: Whitley Publications, 2004, 94 pages

This collection of five essays has been born as a response to the call of the World Council of Churches to dedicate the first decade of the new millennium to the sore issue of violence: thus it has been called the Decade to Overcome Violence: Churches Seeking Reconciliation and Peace. As a response to this call, the Baptist Union of Great Britain (BUGB) has organised a series of initiatives under the title, 'Following Jesus in a Violent World'. *Expecting Justice* is a record of the conversations of a group of British Baptist ministers who have met together regularly to reflect on the drive, the faces, and the practices of violence. The insights and themes developed in that group were then presented and further refined in a consultation organised by BUGB in 2003 at Regent's Park College, Oxford. Thus the book has emerged, not out of the solitude and seclusion of ministers' studies; instead it represents a much more promising approach to theological reflection where issues are raised, discussed, and argued, in a circle of co-workers in dialogue. This is also where the essays gain their unity as insights are weaved into each other.

The collection starts with Steve Finamore's challenge to press further than just an absence of violence. Connecting violence with covetousness, he explores the necessity of narrative-shaped desire, challenge, and struggle for a wholesome human life. Inviting the readers to reflect on the dynamic nature of eternity, he edits the picture of the eschaton as rest by describing it as something vibrant, transformative, and adventurous. A good start, since, as Finamore points out, a much more attractive alternative to the boredom of static, violent-less (and therefore content-less) peace is nirvana-like nothingness!

In the next essay, Anthony Clarke tackles the issue of the relationship of God to what happened to Jesus on the cross. This is, in fact, the theme permeating other essays as well. Questions are raised that are related to the theories of atonement, implicitly and, at times, explicitly calling for some fresh ways of looking at the events surrounding the cross. How do those theories of atonement work – and not work – in the life of

the believing communities? Anthony Clarke explores this from the angle of God's relationship to the death of his Son.

Hazel Sherman, in her essay, reflects on the "interface of language and our world" in shaping the worship of the followers of the Jesus who himself experienced violence. She picks up the impact of the primary theology – particularly the songs – on the believers' perception of God in/of/against violence. Here, and in other essays, the promising and insightful investigations of René Girard in regard to the role of sacrifice are employed, even if only scratching the surface of a vast and promising way to think of Christ and cross.

Graham Sparkes discusses the relationship (so often an unfortunate one) between violence and the mission of the church—mission which at times was understood to be "the task of altering the heathen". By looking at Peter Shaffer's *The Royal Hunt of the Sun*, Sparkes leads the discussion on the merging of the task of mission with one particular culture (which happens to be *our* culture, of course). After all the lessons of church history, this is no less a painful question for us in today's unsettling realities. Sparkes warns of the distortion of mission as defining those who do not belong to us as automatically the recipients of our mission.

The collection finishes with a somewhat surprising theme of violence in relation to the state, exegetically developed by Tim Carter. This is a fresh, ironic, and creative look at Romans 13 and how it could have been read by the church in Rome. Carter suggests, against the classic view, an ironic reading of the text as the most likely in the situation in which the Christians in Rome found themselves during the time concerned in Paul's letter.

Expecting Justice is a good example of what Christian theology should always be: having concern for the church—in this case, the church made up of people possessing the drive toward violence and yet also an ability to engage in practices subverting violence. Offering some insights into this vast topic from the British Baptist perspective, it encourages further reflection on the various faces of violence that can easily become our own masks.

Lina Andronovienė

Stuart Murray
Post-Christendom: Church and Mission in a Strange World
Carlisle: Paternoster, 2004, 343 pages

How should Christians view the obvious marginalisation of the church's role in society? Is the slow, and sometimes painful, process of church and state 'divorce' only a negative process, or does it hide new opportunities and positive challenges for Christian faith? Why are some traditional mission patterns, involving mass evangelism and highlighting the role of mission organisations, losing their effectiveness? If there is a cultural gap between the church and today's European culture, what changes are needed (not only structurally, but first and foremost in attitude) so that Christ's 'ecclesia' might fulfil its calling?

Stuart Murray has made a credible and honest attempt to wrestle with these and many other questions facing European Christianity, which bears an inheritance – and a burden – of the Christendom legacy which has its roots in Constantinian reform in the fourth century. The book begins with a helpful chapter giving a short characteristic of the Post-Christendom phenomenon: what Post-Christendom is and what it is not. Then, starting with the Christendom-shift in church historical perspective and analysing its consequences on the Christian church, its identity and its mission, the discussion moves forward to explore the possible responses to "the anaemic form of Christianity embodied in the Christendom vestiges" (p. 200).

While critical of 'conventional and oppressive' Christianity, a practice of faith "without Jesus in the centre" (p. 311), Murray has successfully avoided one-sidedness when presenting his material. The ability to see both pluses and minuses of the church's past experience makes reading of this book enjoyable and inspiring. Chapters 8 and 9 deal with the challenges which Post-Christendom poses to the church's self-understanding, to ways of being a church and methods of mission. This is a book not only for scholars, but for everyone who is interested in the journey of the Christian church – where is it coming from and where is it heading. An excellent study tool for every student of church history and theology.

Toivo Pilli